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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY CABLE

Friday November 26, 1976

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National Intelligence Daily Cable for Friday, November 26, 1976.

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## USSR-ROMANIA: Brezhnev-Ceausescu Talks

[ ] The Brezhnev-Ceausescu talks in Bucharest this week reflect the determination of each side to promote an image of improved Soviet-Romanian relations without making any fundamental concessions.

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[ ] The two leaders signed a joint declaration that stresses the importance of closer bilateral party and state relations. Preliminary analysis of the full text--which only the Soviets have published so far--suggests that each side bargained hard to protect its interests. They apparently sought to find common ground where possible, but the declaration did not diverge from either country's fundamental positions.

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[ ] In their toasts and speeches both leaders, while praising their relations, also referred to outstanding differences. Brezhnev said there were no "important unresolved problems" between Moscow and Bucharest, but then touched on such sensitive subjects as the need to perfect the division of labor among socialist states and the necessity for "cohesion of socialist countries."

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[ ] Ceausescu, for his part, said that differences of opinion on "non-essential problems" should not affect bilateral cooperation. He then proceeded to enumerate various points of contention between the two sides. He pointed to Romania's status as both a socialist and developing country, portrayed the nonaligned world as a near equal of the socialist countries, and made only passing references to the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. 25X1

[ ] Throughout the talks, the media in Bucharest implicitly argued the correctness of Romanian foreign policy. The Brezhnev visit received good coverage, but *Scinteia*, the party daily, also highlighted the presence in Bucharest of Commerce Secretary Richardson, who signed a 10-year US-Romania trade agreement--the broadest pact the US has ever signed with a CEMA member. *Scinteia* also gave prominent treatment to a "friendly visit" to Peking by a Romanian deputy defense minister. The paper covered all three stories in its Tuesday issue. 25X1

[ ] Brezhnev and Ceausescu ended their discussions on the eve of the meeting in Bucharest of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee. The committee presumably will consider issues to be discussed at next year's follow-on conference to the Helsinki accords. Romania seems likely to continue to differ with the USSR as to what these issues should be. 25X1

[ ] The consultative committee may also surface a new initiative urging the West to agree to concrete measures on disarmament. Brezhnev said Wednesday that he hopes to see rapid movement on the strategic arms limitation talks when the new US administration takes office. 25X1

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## USSR: More Twists for Artists

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[ ] The handful of prominent dissident artists in Moscow--led by Oskar Rabin--reportedly have been maneuvered into isolation again after having been misled last month into believing that they had been approved as members of the official graphic artists' union. Rabin's group understood from the beginning that pressure for conformity would accompany the inducements to join the establishment; it now appears that conformity has been made a precondition.

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[ ] The dissidents were told on October 1 that the union had accepted them as members. They acquiesced in the action, apparently in part as a result of pressure from friends and colleagues who had already been co-opted by the authorities.

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[ ] Several months ago, Rabin and his followers charged that sizable KGB funds had been earmarked for buying off unofficial artists. The blandishments included advantages such as new studios, better housing, and invitations to take part in a major exhibit scheduled for mid-December. The contrast between this treatment and the continued harassment of his own group may have influenced Rabin not to contest what appeared to be an officially initiated fait accompli.

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[ ] Rabin's group anticipated having to pay the price of some reversion to orthodoxy, but thought that having their status as artists officially recognized would make it worthwhile. They also hoped that the graphic artists' union, which reportedly is less rigid than another organization, the artists' union, would allow greater leeway for creative expression.

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[ ] Now Rabin and his group have been told that their membership is contingent on their "guarantees" to cease painting "anti-Soviet works," a euphemism for any art that violates the official doctrine of socialist realism.

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This official deception campaign directed against Rabin's group is not a reversal of policy, but merely another twist in the sophisticated tactics the regime has emphasized to wear down the dissidents' stamina. With Rabin's already isolated group growing smaller, less well-known dissident artists who choose to remain on the sidelines will be left without a rallying point and will be increasingly vulnerable to intimidation.

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